

Hyde	Meek	Sawyer
Inhofe	Menendez	Saxton
Inslee	Meyers	Schaefer
Istook	Mfume	Schenck
Jacobs	Mica	Schumer
Jefferson	Michel	Scott
Johnson (CT)	Miller (FL)	Serrano
Johnson (GA)	Mineta	Sharp
Johnson (SD)	Minge	Shaw
Johnson, E. B.	Mink	Shays
Johnson, Sam	Moakley	Shepherd
Johnston	Mollohan	Shuster
Kanjorski	Montgomery	Sisisky
Kennedy	Moorhead	Skaggs
Kennelly	Moran	Skeen
Kildee	Morella	Skelton
Kim	Murphy	Slattery
King	Murtha	Slaughter
Kingston	Myers	Smith (IA)
Kleccka	Neal (MA)	Smith (MI)
Klein	Neal (NC)	Smith (OR)
Klug	Nussle	Spence
Knollenberg	Oberstar	Stearns
Kolbe	Obey	Stenholm
Kopetski	Olver	Stokes
Kreidler	Ortiz	Strickland
Kyl	Orton	Studds
LaFalce	Owens	Stump
Lambert	Oxley	Stupak
LaRocco	Packard	Sundquist
Laughlin	Parker	Sweet
Lazio	Pastor	Swift
Leach	Paxon	Synar
Lehman	Payne (NJ)	Talent
Levin	Payne (VA)	Tanner
Levy	Penny	Taylor (NC)
Lewis (CA)	Peterson (FL)	Tejeda
Lightfoot	Peterson (MN)	Thomas (CA)
Linder	Petri	Thomas (WY)
Lipinski	Pickett	Thompson
Livingston	Pickle	Thornton
Lloyd	Pombo	Thurman
Long	Pomeroy	Torkildsen
Lowey	Porter	Torres
Lucas	Portman	Torricelli
Machtley	Poshard	Towns
Maloney	Price (NC)	Tucker
Mann	Pryce (OH)	Unsoeld
Manton	Quinn	Valentine
Manzullo	Rahall	Velazquez
Margolies-	Ramstad	Vento
Mezvinsky	Rangel	Visclosky
Martinez	Reed	Volkmer
Matsui	Regula	Vucanovich
Mazzoli	Reynolds	Walsh
McCandless	Richardson	Waxman
McCloskey	Roberts	Wheat
McCollum	Roemer	Whitten
McCrery	Rostenkowski	Williams
McCurdy	Roth	Wilson
McDade	Roukema	Wise
McDermott	Rowland	Woolsey
McHale	Roybal-Allard	Wyden
McHugh	Royce	Wynn
McInnis	Rush	Yates
McKeon	Sabo	Young (AK)
McMillan	Sangmeister	Young (FL)
McNulty	Santorum	Zeliff
Meehan	Sarpaluis	Zimmer

NOT VOTING—3

Clyburn	Ravenel	Washington
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So the joint resolution was not passed.

93.11 MFN FOR CHINA

The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana, pursuant to House Resolution 509 and rule XXIII, declared the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 4590) to provide conditions for renewing nondiscriminatory (most-favored-nation) treatment for the people's Republic of China.

The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana, by unanimous consent, designated Mr. SHARP as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole; and after some time spent therein,

93.12 RECORDED VOTE

A recorded vote by electronic device was ordered in the Committee of the Whole on the following amendment in the nature of a substitute submitted by Mr. HAMILTON:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "United States China Policy Act of 1994".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) The economic, social, political, and cultural welfare of the people of China, who constitute one-fifth of the world's population, is a matter of global humanitarian concern.

(2) By virtue of its size, its economic vitality, its status as a nuclear power, and its role as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, China plays a significant role in world affairs.

(3) The United States policy toward China involves balancing multiple interests, including promoting human rights and democracy, securing China's strategic cooperation in Asia and the United Nations, protecting United States national security interests, controlling the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, promoting a peaceful and democratic transition in Hong Kong, and expanding United States economic contact with China.

(4) United States policy toward China must include as a key objective the promotion of internationally recognized human rights. Specific priorities and methods should be appropriate to the circumstances. Engagement with China rather than its isolation is more likely to foster United States interests.

(5) The opening of China to the West, the adoption of free market economic reforms, the emergence of a strong and entrepreneurial economy that ensures the rise of a Chinese middle class; all have led to expanded individual freedom, a weakening of state control over personal expression, access to the media in the United States, Hong Kong, and the West, and major improvements in living standards for the Chinese people.

(6) United States policies that encourage economic liberalization and increased contact with the United States and other democracies foster respect for internationally recognized human rights and can contribute to civil and political reform in China.

(7) The President's policy statement of May 26, 1994, provides a sound framework for expanding and extending the relationship of the United States with China while continuing the commitment of the United States to its historic values. The United States must develop a comprehensive and coherent policy toward China that addresses the complex and fast-changing reality in that country and promotes simultaneously the human rights, diplomatic, economic, and security interests of the United States toward China.

(8) The United States has an interest in a strong, stable, prosperous, and open China whose government contributes to international peace and security and whose actions are consistent with the responsibilities of great power status. Whether those expectations are met will determine the breadth, depth, and tone of the United States-China bilateral relationship.

(9) Peace and economic progress in East Asia is best assured through a web of cooperative relations among the countries of the region, including China and the United States. The emergence of a militarily powerful China that seeks to dominate East Asia would be regarded as a matter of serious concern by the United States and by other countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

(10) Yet China's performance has been uneven on a number of issues of concern to the United States. In particular, the Chinese Government has failed to observe internationally recognized human rights. In this regard the Congress makes the following declarations:

(A) The Chinese Government itself has made commitments to observe universal human rights norms.

(B) Human rights have universal application and are not solely defined by culture or history.

(C) Chinese policies of particular concern to the United States are the criminalization of dissent, the inhumane treatment in prisons, and the serious repression in non-Han-Chinese areas like Tibet.

(11) Genuine political stability in China and greater respect for internationally recognized human rights, as well as continued economic growth and stability, will only occur in China as a result of a strengthened legal system (based on the rule of law and property rights), the emergence of a civil society, and the creation of political institutions that are responsive to public opinion and the interests of social groups.

(12) China has entered a major transition in its political history which will determine the nature of the domestic system, including respect for internationally recognized human rights, and the Chinese Government's foreign policy. The Chinese Government should accelerate the process of reform of all aspects of Chinese society.

(13) Existing official bilateral and multilateral institutions provide useful venues for engagement with China concerning the rule of law, civil society, respect for internationally recognized human rights, and political institutions that provide humane and effective governance.

(14) American nongovernmental and business organizations, in their various forms of engagement in China, have contributed in that country to the initial emergence of civil society, the strengthening of the legal system, and the expansion of economic autonomy.

SEC. 3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED STATES POLICY.

Congress affirms the President's policy and makes the following recommendations for the conduct of United States policy toward China:

(1) The United States should continue a steady and comprehensive policy of pressing for increased Chinese adherence to international norms, especially those concerning internationally recognized human rights.

(2) Of particular concern to the United States are the following:

(A) The accounting and release of political prisoners.

(B) Access to Chinese prisoners by international humanitarian organizations.

(C) Negotiations between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama on Tibetan issues.

(3) The official dialogue with the Chinese Government on human rights issues should continue and be intensified.

(4) As he considers appropriate, the President should use other available modes of official interaction with China to pursue initiatives that are relevant to promoting increased respect for human rights in China.

(5) The United States should expand broadcasting to China, through the Voice of America and Radio Free Asia.

(6) The United States should work through available multilateral fora, such as the United Nations Human Rights Commission, to express concerns about human rights in China and to encourage Chinese adherence to, and compliance with, international human rights instruments. At all appro-

priate times, the United States should work toward and support joint actions to address significant problems. In particular, the United States should seek to secure the participation of other governments in overtures to secure the accounting and release of political prisoners, to encourage access to Chinese prisoners by international humanitarian organizations and negotiations between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama.

(7) Where possible, the United States should take further steps to foster in China the rule of law, the creation of a civic society, and the emergence of institutions that provide humane and effective governance.

(8) To better carry out the recommendation in paragraph (7), the Secretary of State should encourage United States posts in China to increase reporting on the human rights situation, the rule of law, civil society, and other political developments in China, and to increase appropriate contacts with domestic nongovernmental organizations.

(9) United States non-governmental organizations should continue and expand activities that encourage the rule of law, the emergence of a civic society, and the creation of institutions that provide humane and effective governance.

(10) When considering the termination of the suspensions of United States Government activities enacted in section 902(a) of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1990 and 1991, the President should explore whether such terminations could be used to elicit specific steps by the Chinese government to enhance respect for internationally recognized human rights or correct abuses of such rights.

SEC. 4. UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS SUPPORTING HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA.

(a) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—Concerning the promotion of human rights in China, it shall be the policy of the United States to promote the following objectives:

(1) An effective legal system, based on the rule of law.

(2) Respect for internationally recognized human rights.

(3) The emergence of civil society.

(4) The creation of institutions that provide humane and effective governance.

(b) FACTORS.—In determining how to carry out the objectives stated in subsection (a), the President should consider the following factors:

(1) The circumstances under which it is appropriate to provide support to organizations and individuals in China.

(2) The circumstances under which it is appropriate to provide financial support, including through the following means:

(A) Directly by the United States Government.

(B) Through United States nongovernmental organizations which have established a sound record in China.

(3) The extent to which the objectives of subsection (a) should be promoted through exchanges, technical assistance, grants to organizations, and scholarships for advanced study in the United States.

(4) How to assure accountability for funds provided by the United States Government.

(c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1995.—

(1) Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated for education and cultural exchange programs of the United States Information Agency for fiscal year 1995, up to \$1,000,000 is authorized to be available for programs to carry out the objectives of subsection (a).

(2) In addition to such amounts as may otherwise be made available for broadcasting to China for fiscal year 1995, of the amounts authorized to be appropriated for international broadcasting for fiscal year 1995, an

additional \$5,000,000 may be used for broadcasting to China.

SEC. 5. INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS.

It is the sense of Congress that, in the event that international humanitarian organizations undertake activities in China related to the treatment of prisoners, the President should make available an additional contribution to those organizations to support such activities.

SEC. 6. PRINCIPLES TO GOVERN THE ACTIVITIES OF UNITED STATES BUSINESS IN CHINA.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Congress endorses President Clinton's efforts to work with the leaders of the United States business community to develop voluntary principles that could be adapted by United States companies doing business in China to further advance human rights and commends United States companies that have previously adopted such principles or are considering taking such action.

(b) OTHER COUNTRIES.—Congress urges the President to encourage other governments to adopt similar principles to govern the activities of their business organizations with activities in China.

SEC. 7. PERIODIC REPORTS.

Not more than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act and annually for the 2 subsequent years, the President shall submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, a report (in a classified form in whole or in part as necessary) which reviews for the preceding 12-month period those activities supported by the United States Government to promote the objectives stated in section 4(a).

SEC. 8. COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIETY IN CHINA.

The President is authorized to establish a United States commission on law and society in the People's Republic of China to undertake the following responsibilities and such other duties as the President considers appropriate:

(1) To monitor developments in China with respect to the following:

(A) The development of the Chinese legal system.

(B) The emergence of civil society.

(C) The development of institutions that provide humane and effective governance.

(2) To engage in an ad hoc dialogue with Chinese individuals and nongovernmental organizations who have an interest in the subjects indicated in paragraph (1).

(3) To report to the President and to the Congress the commission's findings regarding the subjects identified in paragraph (1) and its discussions with Chinese individuals and organizations concerning those subjects.

(4) To make recommendations to the President on United States policy toward China in promoting the objectives identified in section 4(a).

(5) To assess and report to the President and the Congress on whether the creation of a United States-China Commission on Law and Society would contribute to the objectives identified in section 4(a).

Amend the title to read as follows: "Concerning United States efforts to promote respect for internationally recognized human rights in China."

It was decided in the { Yeas 280
affirmative } Nays 152

¶93.13

[Roll No. 382]

AYES—280

Ackerman
Allard
Andrews (NJ)
Andrews (TX)
Archer
Armey
Bacchus (FL)
Bachus (AL)

Baesler
Baker (LA)
Ballenger
Barca
Barcia
Barlow
Barrett (NE)
Bartlett

Bateman
Becerra
Bereuter
Bevill
Bilirakis
Bishop
Blackwell
Bliley

Blute
Boehner
Bonilla
Boucher
Brewster
Brooks
Browder
Brown (CA)
Brown (FL)
Bryant
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Canady
Cantwell
Carr
Castle
Chapman
Clement
Clinger
Coble
Coleman
Combest
Condit
Cooper
Coppersmith
Cramer
Crane
Crapo
Cunningham
Danner
Darden
de la Garza
de Lugo (VI)
Deal
DeLauro
DeLay
Derrick
Deutsch
Levy
Dicks
Dingell
Dooley
Doolittle
Dornan
Dreier
Dunn
Edwards (TX)
Ehlers
Emerson
English
Ewing
Faleomavaega
(AS)
Fawell
Fazio
Fields (TX)
Filner
Fingerhut
Flake
Foglietta
Foley
Fowler
Franks (CT)
Franks (NJ)
Frost
Furse
Gallegly
Gekas
Geren
Gibbons
Gilchrist
Gillmor
Gingrich
Glickman
Goodlatte
Gordon
Goss
Grams
Grandy
Greenwood
Hall (TX)
Hamilton
Hancock
Hansen
Harman

Hastert
Hastings
Hoagland
Hoekstra
Hoke
Houghton
Huffington
Hughes
Inhofe
Inslee
Istook
Jacobs
Jefferson
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (GA)
Johnson (SD)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Johnston
Kanjorski
Kennelly
Kim
King
Kingston
Klecza
Klein
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kopetski
Kreidler
Kyl
LaFalce
Lambert
LaRocco
Laughlin
Lazio
Leach
Lehman
Levin
Levy
Lewis (CA)
Lightfoot
Linder
Livingston
Lloyd
Long
Lucas
Machtley
Maloney
Mann
Manton
Manzullo
Martinez
Matsui
McCandless
McCollum
McCrery
McCurdy
McDade
McHugh
McInnis
McKeon
McMillan
McNulty
Meek
Menendez
Meyers
Mica
Michel
Miller (FL)
Mineta
Minge
Montgomery
Moorhead
Moran
Morella
Murphy
Murtha
Myers
Neal (MA)
Neal (NC)
Hall (TX)
Hamilton
Hancock
Hansen
Harman

Packard
Parker
Pastor
Paxon
Payne (VA)
Penny
Peterson (FL)
Peterson (MN)
Petri
Pickett
Pickle
Pombo
Pomeroy
Portman
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Quillen
Quinn
Ramstad
Rangel
Reed
Regula
Reynolds
Roberts
Roemer
Rostenkowski
Roth
Rowland
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Rush
Sabo
Sangmeister
Santorum
Sarpalius
Sawyer
Saxton
Schaefer
Schenk
Schumer
Serrano
Shaw
Shays
Shuster
Sisisky
Skaggs
Skeen
Skelton
Slattery
Slaughter
Smith (IA)
Smith (MI)
Smith (OR)
Spence
Stenholm
Stump
Sundquist
Swift
Synar
Talent
Tanner
Taylor (NC)
Tejeda
Thomas (CA)
Thomas (WY)
Thompson
Thompson
Thornton
Thurman
Torkildsen
Torres
Tucker
Valentine
Visclosky
Volkmer
Vucanovich
Walsh
Wheat
Whitten
Williams
Wilson
Wise
Wyden
Young (AK)
Zeliff
Zimmer

NOES—152

Abercrombie
Andrews (ME)
Applegate
Baker (CA)
Barrett (WI)
Barton
Beilenson
Berman
Billbray

Boehlert
Bonior
Borski
Brown (OH)
Bunning
Burton
Byrne
Cardin
Clay

Clayton
Collins (GA)
Collins (IL)
Collins (MI)
Conyers
Costello
Cox
Coyne
DeFazio